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THE WHITE PAPER AND THE COUNCIL

Washington assists Cuban exile scheme to overthrow Castro

By Kumar Goshal

THE ANTI-CASTRO alliance of the Kennedy Administartion and the Cuban exiles in the U.S. during the week of Apri 2 openly called for the overthrow of the revolutionary government of Cuba.

Their actions preceded and were followed by sensational stories of an "invasion" of Cuba by a U.S.-trained guerrilla army of Cuban exiles; of vastly increased sabotage and other destructive activities within Cuba by the "underground opposition" to the Castro regime, and of an internal uprising in Cuba to coincide with invasion from abroad.

Backing up these stories were reports of "exile armies" massing in undisclosed places; of a secret navy and air force organized by the exiles, and even of a "hospital ship" off the Florida coast to which doctors and nurses were flocking with arm-loads of medicine, surgical instruments and bandages.

CHARGE OF BETRAYAL: The Administration's call for Castro's overthrow was presented in a State Department White Paper released April 2. It accuses Castro of betraying the Cuban revolution, which, it says, was originally "welcomed" by the U.S. and the other countries of the hemisphere; of rejecting friendly overtures by the U.S. to reach an understanding; and of delivering "his country to the Sino-Soviet bloc."

As "proof" of this accusation, the White Paper lists the names of Cubans who fled the country when Castro came to power or who have defected since from Castro's ranks. It also notes the increasing Cuban trade with the socialist countries and the flow of arms from these countries to Cuba. "The Castro regime in Cuba," the White Paper says, "offers a clear and present danger" because it has "perverted" the revolution "into a mechanism . . . for the seizure of international communism of a base and bridgehead in the Americas."

COUNCIL FORMED: It says in conclusion: "We call once again on the Castro regime to sever its links with the inter-national Communist movement . . . If

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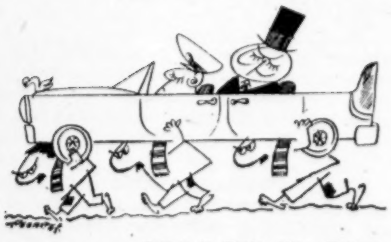
Pecruz in Verde Olivo, Havana
The foundation of Yankee capitalism

'NO MATTER HOW LONG THE FIGHT OR HOW DESPERATE IT WILL END IN VICTORY'
With historic Morro Castle in the background Castro's militia stand guard over his prophecy

AT ST. NICHOLAS ARENA ON APRIL 21

94 leaders sponsor 'Abolition' rally in N. Y.

NINETY-FOUR prominent educators, religious and civic leaders, artists and writers will sponsor a rally calling for abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities Friday, April 21, at 8 p.m. at St. Nicholas Arena, 69 W. 66th St., New York.

The rally, under the auspices of the New York Council and Youth to Abolish HUAC, has been called to focus public attention on the abolition campaign. Proceeds of the rally will go to support the families of Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden while they serve one-year prison sentences for refusing to answer HUAC's questions on First Amendment grounds.

THE SPEAKERS: Among the speakers will be Braden, Wilkinson, Pete Seeger, City Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, Assemblyman Mark Lane, Russ Nixon, David Wesley of the York (Pa.) **Gazette and Daily**, and Len W. Holt, civil rights attorney of Norfolk, Va. Dr. Otto Nathan, co-chairman of the New York Abolition council, will preside.

Among the meeting's sponsors are: James Aronson, Stringfellow Barr, James Baldwin, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Julius Emspak, Philip Evergood, Fowler Harper, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Alfred Kazin, Murray Kempton, James F. McNamara, C. Wright Mills, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Dr. Clarence E. Pickett and Robert Penn Warren.

Rally contribution tickets at $1 are available from the Council office, Room 442, 150 W. 34th St., PE 6-3228.

The rally is a high point of a speaking tour by Braden and Wikinson who are "talking their way to Atanta." They will begin their prison terms there in late April or early May.

ELSEWHERE: Overflow meetings have been held by the Wisconsin Committee for Constitutional Freedoms in Milwaukee and Madison; the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights in Chicago, and the American Civil Liberties Union in Detroit. Campus meetings have been held at the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Wisconsin, at Northwestern, and at Roosevelt and the University of Chicago.

A rally under the auspices of leaders of the Negro community was scheduled for April 7 in Washington, D.C. Other meetings scheduled were: April 11, Harvard; April 12, Community Church, Boston; April 13, Fairleigh Dickinson, Rutherford, N.J.; April 17, Columbia University; April 19, Yale; April 20, Philadelphia.

The New York Council will arrange other speaking engagements on the East coast on request.

AN EDITORIAL REPORT TO READERS

Does the New Frontier extend to Cuba?

THE EVENTS OF THE FIRST TWO WEEKS of April have made it crystal clear that the government of the United States is harboring on its soil a counterrevolutionary movement whose purpose is to overtnrow by force and violence the legitimate government of Cuba. Further, agencies of the U.S. government have been assisting this movement with training grounds, money, men and arms. Finally, these actions are being taken in violation of the Federal laws of this country which specifically forbid the financing, training, recruiting or transportation of such forces as are now preparing an invasion of Cuba (U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 959).

In the face of these events the U.S. government has presented a White Paper which holds up Washington's hands as unsullied and innocent. It presents a government hurt beyond reconciliation by a revolutionary regime in Cuba which refuses to dissolve itself on command from North America. The President of the United States has said on many occasions that Latin America must undertake social reform. Yet nowhere in the White Paper is there mention of social or economic reform, no hint of the industrialization and agrarian changes without which Cuba would remain in perpetual poverty and economic vassalage.

What Washington is saying, in effect, is that it favors revolutions so long as they are not revolutionary. Reforms in President Kennedy's terms—and in Eisenhower's before him—apparently mean the encouragement of U.S. capital investment with tax benefits for the wealthy investors. It is reform strictly within the limits of an imperialist system which denies to the nations under its hegemony the right to economic independence.

DENIED AS THEY WILL BE in Washington, these are the facts, as presented in the New York **Post** April 9 and the Batimore **Sun** March 5:

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THE MAIL BAG

Washington's choice

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I have just re-read the newspaper reports of Fidel Castro's visit to Washington in April, 1959. He asked for a modest loan and some patience and understanding in his efforts to clean up the mess left by his predecessor, Batista. I find nothing in these reports to indicate that Fidel, in that early stage of his progress, had any idea of turning to the leftist bloc in his foreign policy, as President Janos Quadros of Brazil is doing, within a few weeks after his election. In fact there were dispatches from Havana stating that the bearded young heroes who roared into power were, in 1959, giving the cold shoulder to the Communist Party in Cuba.

But instead of a loan and some patience and understanding, we denied any assistance to Castro; followed through with cutting his sugar quota and refusing to process his oil—acts which would have quickly strangled the Cuban economy. They left Castro no possible alternative, for sheer survival, but to turn to the socialist bloc. We then severed relations with Cuba and began to arm and train bands whose avowed purpose is to commit aggressive acts and bring about a civil war which will depose Castro.

Charles Pemberton

More mistakes, please

PORTLAND, ORE.

My paper was delivered by mistake to our neighbor and she would like to subscribe.

Ann Brostoff

Uphaus and Fellowship

EN ROUTE TO SEATTLE

As I ride on a Great Northern train across the vast spaces of our country's heartland, I am thinking of the thousands of friends who stood by Ola and me during the year I was in prison. I can scarcely believe that I have been free three months. My heart has been warmed again and again as I have filled appointments in many places. The evidence of a rising tide of work for peace and civil liberty cheers me.

I am proud to be associated with our little band of First Amendment Defendants. The shocking rulings of the Supreme Court in the cases of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson illustrate how much there is to do to change the climate.

I now look upon the year in prison as just another chapter in a life. Even in advanced years one can learn much about the essential values. Time now seems more precious than ever. Happily World Fellowship will carry on. Our enemies have caused us to close ranks. They have given us thousands of dollars worth of free publicity. The coming summer in New Hampshire should be a record-breaker. Will you plan to come?

Meanwhile, do not let a day pass without some spoken word, some letter written, some act performed in behalf of peace and civil liberty.

Willard Uphaus

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

For the first time in months, no qualified item for the CRAZY box was received this week. Surely we have not yet become a sane nation! We call the attention of readers to our offer of a one-year free sub to the sender of the winning item. Be sure to enclose the original clip with each entry.

For Wallingford Riegger

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

With the tragic death April 2 of the avante garde composer, 75-year-old Wallingford Riegger, America (and the world) has lost the talents of a great modern composer, years ahead of his times. His music will live on, a permanent tribute to the memory of a great artist.

The **GUARDIAN** and the movements for peace and civil liberties and equal rights have likewise lost a stalwart supporter and a true champion. Here, too, his courageous work and his indomitable spirit will live on after him.

Mr. Riegger's children will not permit his work to remain undone. Witness the final sentence in the obituary in the New York **Times**: "The composer's daughters requested that instead of flowers, contributions be sent to the Congress of Racial Equality or the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy."

Aaron Katz

Mann and alienation

YORK, PA.

In the Spectator column of April 3, Fritz Pappenheim, in discussing the "relationship between the alienation of man from himself and his alienation from other men," writes: "The man who wants to free himself from [self-] alienation [achieves it] . . . not when he tries to attain the heights of introspection and introversion but when he actually participates—not only in thought but through practical action—in the plight of other human beings . . ."

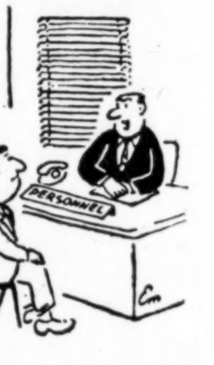
Mr. Pappenheim alludes to **Wilhelm Meister** and to the film **The Defiant Ones** as examples of the treatment of this idea, but it is even more interesting, I think, to note that the sentence I have just quoted is an exact statement of the theme that informs almost the entirety of the work of Thomas Mann.

Mann himself started out as an extreme, narcissistic individualist with the conviction that society was sick and hostile, requiring some such ministrations as the Nazis would provide. He ended up proclaiming himself to be democratic and socialist in his convictions. The main body of his work is an account of modern man—symbolized in his individualistic aspects as the artist type—following the same course.

In his early stories Mann shows us the artist alienated both from society and from himself (represented by sickness). In **The Magic Mountain** we encounter the beginning of a transition to a different level of individual experience when Hans Castorp decides to go down and join the world. Only hinted at here, this long and difficult passage from self-absorption accompanied by alienation to true self-discovery in absorption in the affairs of all mankind then becomes the central theme of Mann's major—and monumental—work, the Joseph story.

Incidentally, one of the best analyses of Mann's work from this general point of view is that of Prof. Harry Slochower, one of the First Amendment victors before the Supreme Court.

David Wesley



Reynolds News, London

"What we are looking for is a man who is prepared to start at the bottom and stay there!"

Last stand

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

San Francisco Police Commissioner Harold R. McKinnon is quoted (Mar. 22) as recommending that the United States return to the principles upon which it was founded, as a desperate last stand against the inroads of communism. Whatever the reason, we applaud the idea and wonder why someone in authority has not thought of it sooner.

Margaret Driggs

Lumumba's murder

WASHINGTON, N.H.

Administration supporters see only the Belgian imperialists as responsible for the murder of Lumumba. In view of the influence of American imperialism in the UN and on Hammarskjold, can this be honestly argued?

President Kennedy has expressed his regrets on the death of Lumumba. None of the "free" press representatives have asked for the report he must have received on the Congo and Lumumba from his brother Ted, who returned from the Congo shortly before the assassination.

Action should be taken so that outstanding leaders who are fighting imperialism for whatever reasons can avoid the fate of Lumumba.

American capitalists pushed their frontiers westward by cheating and dividing the Indian people and did not hesitate to assassinate their leaders. The proponents of new frontiers for American imperialism will not use nicer methods unless the people are warned and on guard.

The new relationship of forces in the world is so much in favor of the peace forces, the anti-imperialists, that Premier Lumumba could have been saved. What was lacking? Clarity on the desperation of imperialism and its leader, the government of American imperialism. If such clarity had been present here the world progressive forces could have been warned, demonstrations mobilized and a much needed leader alive today.

Homer B. Chase

Poet to poet

MAYS LANDING, N.J.

I am pinning the Garland of Practical Poesie on L. S. O'Leary for his poem to Kennedy!

Walter Lowenfels

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ON WEDNESDAY President Truman removed Gen. Douglas MacArthur from his entire command in the Far East because, he said, MacArthur had failed to carry out "wholeheartedly" U.S. and UN policies. As the **GUARDIAN** went to press he was due home for a series of "triumphal" receptions.

Outside the U.S. most peoples and governments welcomed the news with relief. It "swept through Tokyo like a bomb blast," shocked Chiang's regime on Formosa "into official silence filled with a sense of foreboding and futility," caused South Korea's Syngman Rhee "deep regret." India expressed "wholehearted relief." The House of Commons cheered. French officialdom was for once united. The relief of all Europe "appeared both widespread and profound" (New York **Times**).

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JAMES ARONSON *Editor* **CEDRIC BELFRAGE** *Editor-in-exile* **JOHN T. McMANUS** *General Manager*

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REPORT TO READERS

New Frontier and Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

Back in 1959 the National Security Council gave the green light to Central Intelligence Agency director Allen Dulles to organize and train Cuban exiles to prepare for an invasion of Cuba. This was "the Guatemala solution." The entire project is now far advanced. So much so, says the **Post**'s William Shannon, that if the "original timetable had been adhered to, the invasion would already have taken place."

There are two rival factions in the exile movement. One, the Democratic Revolutionary Front, headed by Antonio de Varona, favors a return of all private property in Cuba to the original owners and of course abrogation of the land reform movement. This group favors invasion in force from the outside. The other group, the People's Revolutionary Movement, headed by Manuel Ray, wants to move in after fomenting discord within the country.

(Neither invasion plan could hope for success without assurance of subsequent U.S. intervention to subdue the Cuban people.)

Under Washington pressure, these and several minor groups were forced to accept an overall "Cuban Revolutionary Council" headed by Dr. Jose Miro Cardona. They were told that if they did not come to terms, U.S. financial support (set by the Baltimore **Sun** at $400,000 a month; it is probably much higher) would halt.

On March 22, in the fourth of a most unsympathetic series of articles on Cuba and Castro in the New York **Herald Tribune**, Joseph Newman wrote of Antonio de Varona:

"At Camaguey, the colored porter at the hotel said: 'If Tony Varona ever returns here we'll drag him through the streets and string him up.' . . . Asked why he felt so strongly . . . he replied: 'They are the dirty old politicians who filled their pockets with money while they were in office. They made great promises and betrayed them. They shall never return.'"

BUT THEY ARE TRYING TO RETURN. On April 8 the New York **Times** reported from Miami: "Experts watching the situation were interested in an attempted [counterrevolutionary] Navy plot at Cienfuegos and Baracoa naval bases last week. Unconfirmed reports said that the object of the twin uprising was to steal fast PT boats . . . from Dr. Castro. The regime uses them to patrol the coast against an attack or the landing of saboteurs. Several of the PT boats succeeded in escaping, but quick action by the Castro forces foiled the larger conspiracy."

Now hear this:

"Observers found a coincidence in the presence of the [U.S.] cable ship **Western Union,** said to be carrying 180,000 gallons of fuel that could be used in the PT boats near Baracoa the day of the uprising. A Cuban gunboat forced the cable vessel away and a U.S. destroyer intervened to keep the **Western Union** from being taken into a Cuban port."

At the time of the incident, Washington claimed that the **Western Union** was outside Cuban territorial waters and, when the craft was intercepted, said that it was asking the Swiss government to protest in the strongest terms. It was, after all, a lot of oil.

THUS THE PATTERN IS SET: We intervene in the most dangerous fashion, and when the intervention is blocked we yell "Foul." The same cry went up when Cuba's Foreign Minister Raul Roa in the UN Security Council last July 18 quoted from an article in the reactionary **National Review** blueprinting an invasion plan for Cuba. Is this blueprint being updated to conform with the tactics of a new Administration? Is the New Frontier to be thus extended 90 miles off the coast of Florida? Was the White Paper drawn up by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. to give the stamp of liberal approval to the medieval scheming of the CIA?

If this is the case—and there is unfortunately no evidence that it is not—the time is here and now for all liberals and progressives who voted for Kennedy to claim their stake in their vote and tell the President to get Washington off Cuba's back.

If this insane policy of the Administration is allowed to continue, it can only mean senseless bloodshed in Cuba and an uproar in all of Latin America which will make the President wish he'd never heard the name of Adolph A. Berle Jr.

On April 9 Fidel Castro took note of the invasion plans in a speech to the Cuban people. He said: "No matter how long the fight or how desperate, it will end in victory for the revolution."

All responsible eyewitness journalists agree that the unity and determination of the Cuban people will prove Castro a true prophet. But it should be the concern of thinking Americans that his prophecy not be put to the test.

—THE GUARDIAN

HOW TWO SMALL STRIKES WERE WON

The real story of the labor movement today

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

CHICAGO

FOR MANY PEOPLE the labor movement is the headlines, the big names, the big strikes, the big deals. The day-to-day labor movement—small unspectacular strikes won or half-won, constant attention to bread-and-butter problems—are rarely or never reported.

On a recent week end two locals of the United Electrical Workers in Chicago settled two strikes both of which lasted about two weeks. One involved 525 workers of the Minneapolis Honeywell Co. which manufactures automatic machinery and control mechanisms for missiles, and the other 650 workers of the Phoenix Metal Cap Co. which makes all kinds of covers for containers. The story of the two meetings which settled the strikes is the real story of today's labor movement.

16 DAYS: The Honeywell strikers met in Luxemburg Gardens, a beer garden near the plant in Morton Grove, a Chicago suburb. The juke box played as the strikers gathered at 9 a.m. to hear a report from their negotiating committee. A token picket line at the plant kept the fire going in the oil-drum heater.

For 16 days the plant had been shut down tight by a secret vote of 330 to 138 after two months of fruitless negotiations. A new—and tough—plant manager was testing his strength. For 58 days the company offered nothing, but demanded contract changes to weaken the local which had not had a strike since 1948.

The strike was solid. The picket lines were strong. There were no scabs. The local police chief was worrying about getting a pay increase for his own men and gave the strikers no trouble. Members of the AFL-CIO Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers supported the strike. The Teamsters Union would not cross the picket line. Only the Intl. Assn. of Machinists broke ranks — after the strike started it petitioned for an NLRB election in an old and unsuccessful effort to split off the 28 men in the tool room from the production workers in UE.

CHAMPIONS: The hall was crowded and more than 100 had to stand in front of the gaudy murals on the walls. The men wore caps, some of them hunter's caps, and one wore a derby. The women, 40% of the crowd, wore scarves on their heads. The spirit was high because victory seemed likely and the strike hadn't gone quite long enough to cause serious family hardships.

The strike committee sat at a front table. Chairman Chris Anastas, 225-pound production worker, wore a sport jacket with a big insignia proclaiming that the plant soft-ball team had won the Skokie Valley Industrial Assn. championship in 1958.

Mike Karpa, business agent, reported the company's offer: wage increases of from 7c to 10c an hour; some wage inequities corrected; company-paid insurance improvements; hospital coverage up from $12 to $18 a day, from 70 days to 120 days; a medical plan of up to $5,000 for a single disability.

A special issue was won: Free bus service, provided for a time when the plant moved to the suburb five years ago, was to be restored. And for the first time a "no discrimination" clause was written into the contract.

A VICTORY: The audience was pleased when Mike Karpa recommended acceptance of the offer. UE vice president Ernest De Maio, with experience in a thousand strikes during the last 25 years, spoke briefly. He had been on the picket line, in the negotiations, and in the strike committee sessions. "It's not all we wanted, but it's good. The company knows it can't kick you around. You've won a victory."

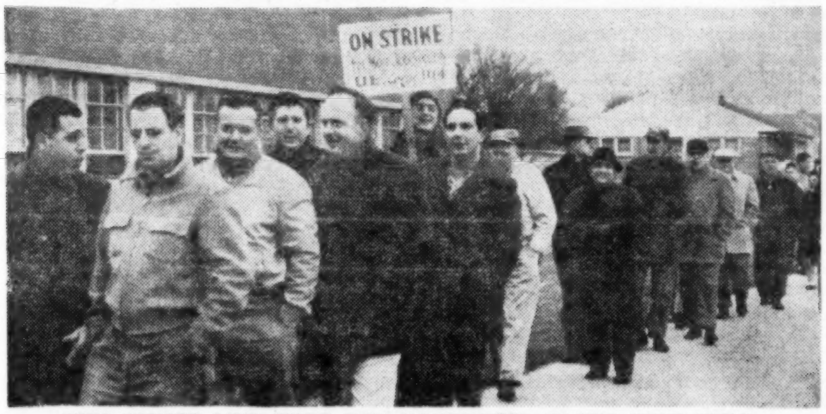
The chairman called on the negotiating committee members; all favored settlement. One member, busy with a movie camera, had to be called to attention: "How about you, Cecil B. De Mille?" "We've won," said the movie-maker. "The people out front were solid." He listed the workers he felt deserved special credit for their efforts in the strike.

There were some shouts of "When do we go back to work?" Chairman Chris Anasta rapped for order: "Just a minute, we haven't even voted to go back yet . . . You want a secret or an open ballot?" The vote seemed unanimous for an open ballot. Anasta said: "You're a pretty good group today. You seem happy. Are you sure, now? Anybody else want to speak?" No one did. The unanimous vote to go back to work under the new contract was a happy and laughing one.

PRAISE FOR ALL: A debate followed. The younger single men wanted to celebrate and return to work on Monday, three days later. The others, 80% or so, wanted to go back the next day—they needed the pay. It was voted to go back to work Friday, with the understanding that those who didn't get back until Monday would be OK.

Mike Karpa responded to praise from the floor for the strike committee and the shop leaders: "Many individuals here did more than asked. Some of whom the least was expected did the most. Lots of bouquets would have to be given. This is a victory for all of you. It will pay off day in and day out in the shop. The company wanted to take things away from you. You said 'No,' made it stick and won gains. This means we will continue to defend our conditions and fight to improve them."

There was one gripe from the floor: "What about the guys who didn't pull their picket duty? Let's penalize them . . ." Chris Anastas answered: "No penalties. Go easy on the gripes. No one of you knows the whole story about picket duty, the good excuses. The strike committee kept a full roster. Let's not have any penalties or griping. We need to stick together, this fight is not over . . ."



THIS PICKET LINE KEPT THE HONEYWELL PLANT SHUT TIGHT
The UE local taught the company it couldn't be kicked around

THE PHOENIX STRIKE: The next day in UE District 11 headquarters some 600 of the 650 Phoenix Metal Cap workers decided to end their ten-day-old strike. There was little enthusiasm for the settlement among the mainly Polish and Lithuanian workers. But the negotiating committee had made real progress on the basic issue of seniority and the workers were reluctant to continue on strike in a city where 10% of the workers are unemployed.

In a five-hour meeting the night before, the negotiating committee felt that more could be won if the strike continued and voted to recommend rejection of the company offer. But the committee was worried, and decided to "talk to the people" on the picket line in the morning and to meet again at 8 a.m. before the strike meeting at 9.

The committee was unhappier the next morning. Reactions were mixed, but it seemed that most strikers wanted to settle even though dissatisfied. Should the committee seek to continue the strike that had been voted for 8 to 1? Ernest De Maio, in his second strike meeting in two days, cautioned: "If we carry by a narrow margin, we can't go on with the strike." (Any seasoned labor leader knows it takes from 80% to 85% approval to hold a strike against company efforts to break it.)

DIVIDED OPINION: Strike committee chairman Karl Koonty polled the members. Rosie Garwacki rushed in late: "I'm sorry, I was talking with the people. The women are dissatisfied in the lower grades. It's 50-50. If we present it right we have a chance to hold the strike." Rosie is the hero of the women who make up 70% of the shop. A short, strong, nervous woman, Rosie fights the boss, and if necessary the men workers, for women's rights in Phoenix. Bob Karki, a young worker, also came in late: "I was downstairs having coffee with the boys . . . So many different opinions . . . I'd say it's 60 to 40 to reject."

But the committee decided to withdraw its recommendation to reject and to "see how the meeting goes." Actually, the committee wanted to continue the strike, but the realization grew that the workers wanted to take what they'd won so far and go back to work.

Koonty and De Maio presented the company offer. The big issue was seniority, to have lay-offs and recalls and transfers made on the basis of years of service. The company wanted to destroy this protection, and on this issue the union won. The contract provided for retraining and seniority to rule on a plant-wide basis. Without this, the strike certainly would have gone on. The chairman said: "Every clause of this provision was tear-stained by Rosie,' and all cheered.

ROSE GARWACKI
Her tears stained the contract

STRIKERS DECIDE: Beyond this victory there were some other gains, but not enough: a small percentage pay increase; a number of pay inequities squared up; some gains for apprentices in the machine shop; and increased hospital benefits.

This time the negotiating committee made no recommendation. The workers were told frankly that the company insisted this was its "final offer," that the committee's original intention was to recommend rejection, but instead decided to "talk with the people."

Hands shot up all over the hall. The first speaker told of his wife's four hours collecting her unemployment compensation, expressed surprise that the committee had done so well, and urged settlement. The next worker said: "We've spent two weeks on strike and two weeks behind the committee. They did a good job. Let's settle." The next two women wanted to go back to work, satisfied with a good job done in negotiations.

THE DEBATE: There were objections. Some wanted to hold out for more. Finally a woman said amidst calls of approval: "What does the committee think? Give us your honest opinion. Can we get more?"

Each committee member spoke. "The money is not so good, but we won on the contract. Let's settle." Harry Bordis said: "It's not enough. The 4c raise on the bottom rates is lousy. I wanted to reject, but the consensus is to go back." Rosie Garwacki: "My dear brothers and sisters . . . it's not all we want . . . but we won on seniority . . . let's accept."

De Maio summarized with a call for continued unity and said that "while more might be won, the union has a victory now. Besides we will start on another contract in nine months, so we can go on from here."

Then the vote, by show of hands, was taken: about 400 to accept and 100 to continue the strike. A motion to make the vote unanimous was approved and the strike was over.

Cuba Committee anniversary banquet in N.Y. April 28

THE FAIR PLAY for Cuba Committee will celebrate its first anniversary with a banquet on Friday, April 28, at the Brass Rail restaurant in New York City. Speakers will be Carl Braden, field secy. of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and Rowland Watts, national legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union. James Higgins, assistant editor of the York **Gazette and Daily**, will be toastmaster. There will be a program of Afro-Cuban songs and entertainment.

Contribution is $7.50 per plate. Reservations may be obtained from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, OR 4-8295.

The real story of the Cuban situation

The kind ofre reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, like Kumar Goshal's story (p. 1) and the Report to Readers, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting for an informed viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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ABOLISH

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PETE SEEGER
FRANK WILKINSON

All Facing One Year Imprisonment for Challenging HUAC

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Hon. STANLEY M. ISAACS, N.Y.C. Councilman
Hon. MARK LANE, N.Y. State Assemblyman
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PATRICK MURPHY MALIN vs. CORLISS LAMONT

Liberals, Communists and civil liberties

On April 1 the GUARDIAN received a communication from Patrick Murphy Malin, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, commenting on an article by Corliss Lamont in the March 27 issue. Because of the seriousness of Malin's charge, we asked Lamont for a full reply. Malin's letter and Lamont's comment appear below.

IN THE ARTICLE, "A Comment: SANE and Civil Liberties,' by Corliss Lamont in your March 27 issue, this statement appears: "In a special conference [in 1939] with Congressman Dies and Adolph A. Berle, Jr., then an Assistant Secretary of State [Morris L.] Ernst and [Arthur Garfield] Hays made a deal to the effect that if the HUAC would stop harassing the Civil Liberties Union, that organization could be counted on to cleanse itself of Communists."

This statement is untrue. The allegation has been made before, without any substantiation. Mr. Hays, who died in 1954, cannot answer this attack. Mr. Ernst, upon being queried this week, flatly denied it, as did Roger N. Baldwin, a founder and in 1939 the executive director of the ACLU. Further corroboration comes from Prof. Joseph Tannenhaus of New York University, who has made a thorough study of alleged Communist influence in the ACLU and efforts to combat it, as part of the Fund for the Republic's survey of Communist influence in American life. Prof. Tannenhaus' report will be included in a book edited by Prof. John Roche of Brandeis University and soon to be published by the Cornell University Press. Prof. Tannenhaus informs our office that if evidence of such an arrangement had been found he definitely would have included it in his report; but that after examining the original ACLU source material and talking to numerous people, including Mr. Ernst and Mr. Lamont, he could not discover one bit of evidence for such a "deal."

—Patrick Murphy Malin

• • •

IN REPLY to Patrick Murphy Malin, I offer further testimony that in 1939, high officials of the ACLU made a deal, explicit or implicit, with Congressman Martin Dies, then Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, about a purge of Communists in the Civil Liberties Union.

As important evidence, I quote from a letter written to me on July 20, 1955, by Mr. Dies on House of Representatives stationery:

"It is true that I had a conference with Mr. Morris Ernst, Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays, and Mr. Berle who represented the Administration. I believe this took place at the Hay Adams Hotel in Washington, but off-hand I cannot remember the date. The real purpose of the meeting was to explore the possibility of united action on the part of liberals and conservatives to investigate and expose Communists in the United States. The meeting was called at my instance. I believed that the liberals should take the initiative in a campaign against communism. I had information showing Communists in important positions in the Government. Mr. Berle was assigned to this meeting by the President. It was my belief that the liberals would hurt their cause seriously if they continued to collaborate with Communists and evade an all-out denunciation of communism. I felt that we were seriously handicapped in exposing the Communists through a lack of cooperation from liberals. At the meeting I suggested that if we worked together we could destroy the Communist apparatus and influence within a few months, and that the liberals would share in the credit. Unfortunately, the meeting was not productive of any fruits."

I replied to Mr. Dies on July 26 and stated:

"You say in your letter that 'the meeting was not productive of any fruits.' It seems to me, on the contrary, that the conference may have started a chain reaction among liberals that eventually brought about the results that you wished. That was particularly true of the American Civil Liberties Union, which later put through a strong anti-Communist resolution and expelled a Communist Party member from the Board of Directors."

Naturally, I do not claim that statements by Martin Dies are always accurate. But this letter to me has the hallmark of authenticity. It checks with what occurred in the ACLU after October 1939, and with a great deal that has gone on in the United States from that time to the present.

The portentous significance of the Dies letter is that one of America's worst reactionaries, and the man who first perfected the techniques of the Congressional inquisition, laid down the program in general that was adopted soon afterwards by numerous so-called liberal organizations—a program of active initiative in the witch-hunt and collaboration in it with governmental agencies all along the line. This policy on the part of many liberals and liberal groups did much to pave the way for McCarthyism; and still gives aid and comfort to the powerful McCarthyite trends of today, as in the case of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that Messrs. Hays and Ernst, the two general counsel for the Civil Liberties Union, held some sort of conference with Congressman Dies during the latter part of October 1939. For they so reported at a luncheon meeting of the ACLU Board of Directors at the Town Hall Club, New York City, Monday, October 30, 1939. The Minutes of that meeting record very briefly that Hays and Ernst told about their recent conversation with Dies in reference to an official hearing that Dies allegedly promised to give the Union. Of course Hays and Ernst did not mention to the Board anything concerning a gentlemen's agreement with Dies, or concerning Dies's master plan to enlist the liberals in tracking down the Communists.

In his letter, Mr. Malin says that Joseph Tannenhaus, Professor of Government at New York University, informed him that the deal with Dies never took place. Prof. Tannenhaus is writing a chapter on civil liberties in a new volume to be published next fall in the Fund for the Republic series on Communism in American life. That series can hardly be considered objective as to the role of Communists in the United States. The very title of the forthcoming book, **Studies in Infiltration**, shows well enough the kind of nonsense that has been infiltrating the minds of those who are writing this survey. Prof. Tannenhaus, a biased investigator if I ever saw one, can be depended upon to whitewash the ACLU; and must be classified as a most unreliable witness.

There are a number of other points I could make in answer to Mr. Malin but space prevents. To conclude, although it has been impossible as yet to obtain absolute proof of the Dies deal with the ACLU leadership, I believe that the available evidence supports overwhelmingly the accusation I have made.

—Corliss Lamont

Freedom of information

WASHINGTON, March 10—Fifteen representatives of newspapers, government and Congress held a three-hour, 20-minute session today on "freedom of information." The meeting was closed to the press.

—The New York **Times**, March 11

THE LEGISLATURE'S HEARING ON THE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE

An odd lesscn in Americanism in the Wisconsin capital

By Joanne Grant

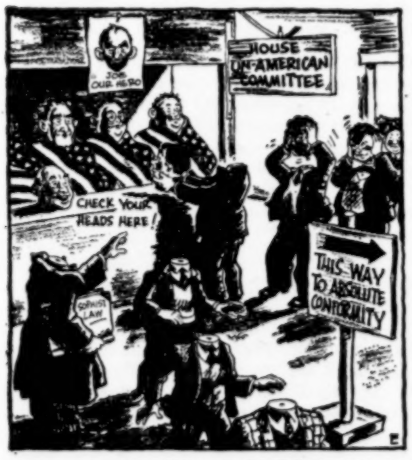
A STRANGE LESSON in Americanism was given to University of Wisconsin students by the state legislature when it considered and passed a resolution last month endorsing the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Students who attended a public hearing on the resolution held by the state Assembly's Judiciary Committee heard themselves attacked as "dupes" and later learned that they had been "investigated" because of their opposition to the resolution which praised the House Committee's work.

THIS WAS THE SCENE IN THE ASSEMBLY CHAMBER AT THE JAMMED HEARING
The students got their political baptism in a demonstration of pressure and weak knees

The resolution was part of Republican legislators' attempts to discredit Democratic Gov. Gaylord Nelson who had issued a statement condemning the Un-American Committee and calling on Wisconsin members of Congress to vote for its abolition.

At the public hearing, attended by 500, main support for the resolution came from the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars and from women described by one legislator as "mink-clad matrons of the North Shore of Milwaukee." Opposition came mainly from University of Wisconsin students and professors and from Democrats on the Judiciary Committee.

THE PRESSURE: The Madison **Capital Times** on Feb. 22, the day after the hearing, said that most observers expected the final vote on the resolution to be along party lines with seven Republicans favoring and four Democrats opposed. It didn't work that way. The vote was 10 to 1, and the lone Democrat who dared dissent bent his head and breathed a barely audible "No." He said he was already being called a Communist dupe and had received a dozen unsigned letters calling him a traitor and subversive.



Voice of the ILWU, Honolulu
Government by intimidation

The other three Democrats said that a "no" vote would damage them politically. One said he had been abused by a police detective who swore at him and said he wanted to know "where this guy stands."

On Feb. 23 the Democratic County Council tabled a resolution supporting the Governor's stand to avoid further controversy. The executive board and the administrative committee had already voted to support Governor Nelson's stand.

A few days after the hearing Republican Assemblyman Niles Soik, one of the resolution's sponsors, announced in the Assembly that Republican state headquarters had made an investigation of the students who had opposed the resolution. He reported that there were 58 students among the 121 persons who had registered opposition to the Un-American Committee at the public hearing. He said that "70 percent" of a group of students from out of the state were from the "Brooklyn-Bronx-New York City metropolitan area." The Madison **Capital Times**, March 1, reported that Soik had showed reporters a stack of three-by-five cards which contained the results of the investigation and had said that labor union representatives who spoke against the resolution were also being investigated. The paper said: "Soik and other Republicans have been planting rumors since the hearing that the legislature will act to either put a limit on out-of-state enrollment or eliminate tuition scholarships for non-residents."

THE FEAR: On March 15 after a three-hour debate the resolution was passed in the Assembly with 80 votes in favor and 16 Democratic votes against. The next day the Senate approved the measure by 22 to 9. The nine opposition votes were all Democratic. Democrats who voted for the resolution in the Assembly said they were afraid to oppose it because they would be labeled Communist and defeated for reelection in 1962.

One said he had been warned of a possible FBI investigation. One said someone had called influential persons in his district to "put the heat on me." One said he had been visited by the FBI for opposing a similar resolution in 1947. Another legislator said he had been visited in the factory where he works and been told: "By God, you better support that resolution or else." Another reported that the state Republican newsletter, **Facts**, had called opponents of the resolution "the willing and the witless, pinkos, unwashed beatniks and other screwballs."

Milwaukee's **Sentinel** and **Journal**, Madison's **Capital Times** and other papers in the state had earlier supported Gov. Nelson's stand; they opposed the resolution. The **Capital Times** in an editorial Feb. 22 on the unsavory reputations of major Un-American Committee supporters said: "The Commie spook show is always a popular device for politicians to divert attention from their own records and the really serious problems we face."

AMERICANISM: Many newspaper reports noted that the film "Operation Abolition," the Un-American Committee's doctored version of last May's San Francisco demonstrations against it, had been loaned to the Judiciary Committee by the Allen Bradley Co. of Milwaukee. They pointed out that the company has conducted a training program in Americanism through large advertisements in magazines and newspapers, and that it was one of the companies recently found guilty of price-fixing. The company was fined $40,000 and its president, Fred Loock, was given a suspended 30-day sentence and fined $7,500. A **Capital Times** columnist, Miles McMillin, pointed out that Harold Bradley, Allen Bradley's board chairman, had contributed $2,000 to Joseph Kamp, racist propagandist. Assemblyman Soik is an Allen Bradley employee.

Commenting editorially on Soik and the price-fixing conviction of Allen Bradley the **Capital Times,** Feb. 21, said: "The Communist bogey man is always used to divert the attention of the public from the plots and schemes to exploit it. This was true of the late Senator McCarthy of whose legacy the Un-American Committee has become the trustee."

Soik defended his resolution by claiming that he was "trying to arouse public opinion to have our people know the Communist threat." He cited student riots which have taken place in various countries. The lesson for University of Wisconsin students was indicated by Assemblyman McKay, the resolution's co-sponsor, who said that Democrats and Republicans should not be "deluded" into fighting over the resolution because "disunity provides the soil in which Communism thrives."

N.Y. May Day rally in Washington Square

THE 75TH MAY DAY celebration in New York City will take place on Monday, May 1, from 4 to 8 p.m. in Washington Square. The change from the traditional meeting place in Union Square was determined upon by delegates to the 1961 May Day Conference because the city administration has for a number of years turned Union Square over to the 14th Street Businessmen's Assn. on May Day.

The 1961 Labor and People's Committee for May Day has issued a leaflet dealing with the history of May Day from 1886 to the present. A poster designed by artist Hugo Gellert for the rally is now available for individuals and organizations at the May Day office, 130 E. 16th St., AL 4-8350.

THE CLEVELAND T-H CASE

Reduced sentences asked for the Haugs

DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK, America's best known authority on child development, has joined with a number of Cleveland university and civic leaders in support of a move to reduce the prison sentences of Marie and Fred Haug. Dr. Spock based his appeal on the ground that simultaneous imprisonment of both the Haugs would be harmful to the development of their ten-year-old daughter.

Fred and Marie Haug, former union leaders, were convicted in 1958 of conspiracy to file false non-Communist affidavits ten years ago, under a now defunct provision of the Taft-Hartley Law. The Supreme Court recently refused to hear their appeal, and they are slated to begin 18-month prison sentences and pay fines of $2,500 each.

Others who submitted affidavits included Dean Carl Wittke of Western Reserve U. Graduate School, Professors Marvin B. Sussman and Richard Schermerhorn of the Sociology Dept. at Western Reserve, the principal of the school attended by the Haug's daughter, the president of the Cleveland Ethical Society, of which the Haugs are members, and others.

Grounds for requesting reduction of sentence are the repeal of the law underlying the conviction, the fact that "the annals of political crime are without precedent for the simultaneous fining and service of both mother and father of a family," "consequences of hardship and emotional upset for the child," and the Haugs' "practically certain success" as probationers.

Others convicted with the Haugs are Eric Reinthaler and Hyman Lumer of Cleveland; James West and Sam Reed of Chicago, and Andrew Remes of Brooklyn, N.Y. They were not named in the petition for a reduction of sentence, which was filed by Jack C. Day, attorney for the Haugs.

TRAVEL

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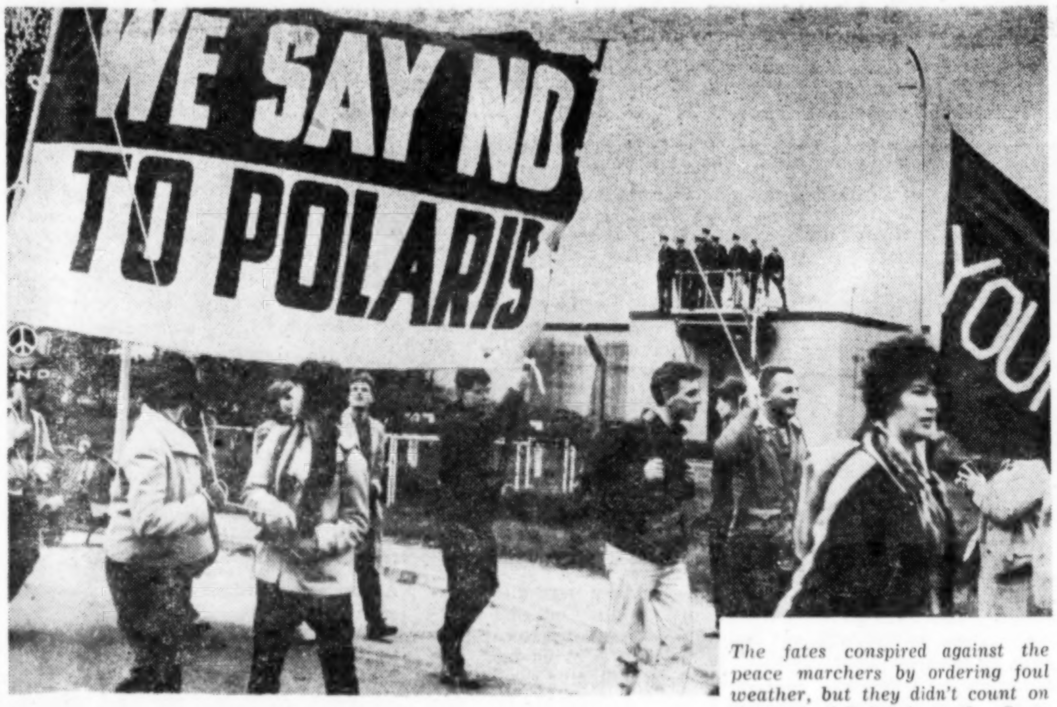


The fates conspired against the peace marchers by ordering foul weather, but they didn't count on the zeal of Britain's youth. Some 7,000 set out from Aldermaston nuclear weapons center (l.) on Good Friday, a cold and dank day. Fifty-four miles and three days later they reached London (r.) soaked with rain but with their ardor for peace undampened.

50,000 DEMONSTRATE IN RAIN

London peace march is biggest in history

By Diana Purcell

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

THIS EASTER week end saw the greatest demonstration for peace in the history of Britain. People from every corner of the British Isles marched for four days through heavy rains and wind in protest against nuclear weapons.

The Conservative London **Daily Mail** grudgingly conceded that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which sponsored the demonstrations, is the largest political movement since World War II. Richard Wald, London correspondent of the New York **Herald Tribune,** went further. He called the peace march "the biggest popular movement of protest . . . since the Chartists last agitated a century ago."

Two columns of demonstrators set out for a 50-mile march to London on Good Friday—one from the Aldermaston Nuclear Weapons Research Establishment and the other from the U.S. air base at Wethersfield. The columns converged on Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday.

50,000 DESPITE RAIN: There was a "hard core" of 7,000 in each column who marched all the way. Countless thousands of others joined the march en route for short periods. The weather was foul throughout but it reached its peak the last day. The marchers were drenched with rain when they entered Trafalgar Square, but still 50,000 marched.

The demonstration was months in the planning. Every week end teams of Youth Campaigners canvassed churches across the country soliciting support. They held public meetings and dances. Young people predominated in the marching columns.

It took more than three hours for the columns to file into Trafalgar Square. Twenty-foot banners identified the contingents and showed the breadth of the movement. Represented were pacifist, Catholic, Quaker, union, Communist and other groups. They disagreed on many issues but all who supported CND's anti-bomb program were welcome.

Some 2,000 from abroad joined the march as a sign of solidarity. About 400 were West German engineers sent by their union. Others came from France, Switzerland, Sweden, Ireland and Italy and from Africa and Asia.

FOR SANITY: Many thousands of Londoners joined the marchers in Trafalgar Square for a rally. Michael Foot, Labor MP, drew the biggest applause when he proclaimed that Britain must be "cleansed" of U.S. bases.

Bertrand Russell said: "We stand together for sanity in a world gone mad. We hope we may convert the governments before it is too late. The future of the world depends upon the efforts of those who think as we do."

To the tune of **John Brown's Body** the demonstrators sang:

Somewhere in the States they've got
a button painted red.
If anybody sits on it we'll all of us
be dead.
Ban, Ban, ban the bloody H-bomb,
Ban, Ban, ban the bloody H-bomb,
Ban, Ban, ban the bloody H-bomb,
If you want to stay alive next year.

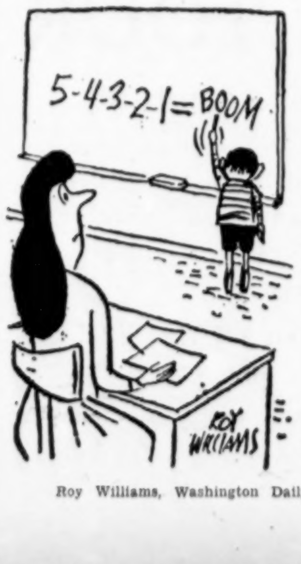
ON TO HOLY LOCH: After the rally 22 members of the Direct Action committee set out on a seven-week, 500-mile march to the Polaris submarine base in Holy Loch, Scotland.

About 300 others marched to the U.S. Embassy in Grosvenor Square, where they staged a sit-down protest. Police arrested two demonstrators and took them off to jail. The rest of the group followed the police, chanting, "Free our leaders." In the end 31 were arrested.

About 50 others staged a similar demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy. They sat in the rain for 30 minutes and left. There were no incidents.

MARCH FOR LIFE: The growth of the peace movement has been fantastic. In the last 12 months, the Labor party, the Cooperative movement and many unions have gone on record against Britain's retention of nuclear weapons and against U.S. bases. No one can deny that this is the greatest spontaneous movement of the century.

A 17-year-old girl on the march perhaps best explained the growth of the movement. She said to me: "I always feel at the end of a week—Well, that's another week I've had." This sense of impending death is felt by most people on our tightly-packed little island. It is intolerable. That is why we march.



Roy Williams, Washington Daily News

700 BRAVE BLIZZARD IN MONTREAL

Canadians march in seven cities

Special to the Guardian

MONTREAL

IN SEVEN CITIES across Canada, thousands of people of all ages marched on April 1 to stop the drift toward nuclear war. Their aim was to influence public opinion and governments to halt the present suicidal arms race, and instead, to start toward nuclear disarmament and world peace.

More than 700 persons here showed their determination to this cause by marching through a sudden blizzard of snow and slush. Most were unprepared for the weather and became thoroughly drenched.

The marchers assembled at 1:30 p.m. at two opposite starting points and proceeded toward each other, converging at University Street in front of the campus of McGill University.

The marchers carried signs reading: "No Defense to Nuclear War," "No Nuclear Bases for Canada," "Stop Spread of Nuclear Weapons," "H-bombs Kill All Men, Women and Children," "No More Hiroshimas," "No Nuclear Alliances."

RALLY HELD: At the end of the march a rally was held in the ballroom of the McGill Student's Union. The possibility of nuclear annihilation in this decade was stressed. The danger that an atomic world war could start at any moment by accident was clearly revealed. The present system of defense proclaimed as foolproof by the military was called a fraud. The only effective solution to war and the arms race, the speakers said, was disarmament.

Speakers included Prof. Bigelow of Macdonald College; D. Daniels, playwright; M. Chartrand, leader of the Social Democratic Party in Quebec; D. Roussopoulos, chairman of the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Canada; and students from three Montreal universities. Several adult peace groups supported the march, which was organized by C.U.C.N.D.

OTHER ACTIONS: In Toronto, about 1,000 marched to City Hall. Despite a threat to his life, Rabbi Feinberg addressed the gathering, proposing that Canada undertake the task of abolishing the nuclear club.

The premier of Saskatchewan, T. C. Douglas, speaking to marchers in Regina, made these points: (1) Canada should grant the UN the right to negotiate a progressive disarmament; (2) all nuclear arms should be handed over to a world authority; (3) Canada should denounce NORAD; and (4) Canada should ban nuclear arms from its soil.

Marches also took place in Vancouver, Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Quebec City. International Nuclear Disarmament Day was an unquestionable success.

Fair Play for Cuba meetings in Brooklyn and Philadelphia

THE BROOKLYN BRANCH of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee will hold a mass meeting at Leonardo da Vinci Hall, 350 Flatbush Ave. Ext. (opposite the Brooklyn Paramount Theater) on April 20 at 8:30 p.m., to protest the plans for military intervention in Cuba. Recent visitors to Cuba will give eye-witness reports.

Among the speakers are Rev. Milton A. Galamison of the Siloam Presbyterian Church; attorney Charles T. McKinney; Richard Gibson, acting national secy. of the Fair Play Committee; John T. McManus, general manager of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, and Julio Medina, organizational secy. of the July 26 Movement.

* * *

William Worthy, news correspondent and former Nieman Fellow in journalism at Harvard, will speak in Philadelphia on "Are We Getting the Truth About Cuba?" Tuesday evening, April 18, at 8 p.m., at the New Century Auditorium, 124 S. 12th St., between Chestnut and Walnut. James Higgins, editor of the York (Pa.) **Gazette and Daily,** will preside.

DANGER SPOTS CITED

World Peace Council warns of U. S. policies

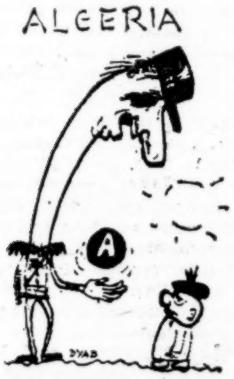
By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff correspondent

NEW DELHI

DELEGATES from more than 60 countries met here March 24-28 for a special session of the World Council of Peace to discuss disarmament and national independence, at the moment when SEATO powers in nearby Bangkok talked of armed intervention in Laos. One thing emerged crystal clear at New Delhi: to the majority of mankind, the ending of colonial domination is the first condition for the achievement of peace.

The same forces that insisted on the UN resolution condemning colonialism were in action here. Some delegates had sought support for their demands for independence at former meetings of the Council and spoke now for newly independent countries; others, like Cheriff Guellal, a member of the provisional Algerian government, spoke with the authority of men who were certain of their final victory.

U.S. POLICY OPPOSED: During four days of fierce and sometimes bitter discussion, there was evidence that within liberated countries there will be plenty of ideological clashes. To equate the colonial liberation movements with communism is, therefore, to misunderstand world events, as the SEATO meeting did. The result is to unite Asia, Africa and the liberation forces of Latin America into a solid alliance against U.S. policy, which they regard as the main enemy because they see it as an attempt to subvert national liberation and to install quisling governments in power. Military bases are regarded as the instrument of this policy.



Dyad, London Daily Worker

"Tell me, son—what sort of independence were you expecting?"

Delegates cited many examples of how the system operates:

- In Laos, U.S. might is concentrated in the China Sea, remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's forces have entered North Laos from Burma and Thai forces are mobilized along the frontier.
- In South Vietnam, the U.S. military mission is encouraging acts of terrorism against the people and obstructing implementation of the Geneva agreement for reunification.
- In South Korea, the U.S. is propping up a government which is wrecking the economy and is impeding every effort at peaceful unification.
- In Indonesia, the Dutch with SEATO and NATO support have refused to carry out the agreed transfer of West Irian to Indonesian sovereignty and are converting it into a military base for aggression.
- In the Congo, the imperialist powers—abetted by the UN secretariat—are aiming to enable the Belgians and their tools to divide the country and return it to colonialist rule.
- In Algeria, success in the coming negotiations depends on the acceptance of Algerian independence and the rejection of any attempt to partition the country or to detach the Sahara with its mineral wealth.
- In Cuba, the danger to peace lies in the constant intervention by U.S. imperialism in its internal affairs.

ONE SIDED: Perhaps this is a black and white picture; no doubt the discussions would have benefitted if more spokesmen of liberal Western opinion had taken part and helped formulate the conditions for ending colonialism and inaugurating peaceful coexistence.

As far as the delegates here are concerned, present Western policy of alliance with the most hated elements in their countries has nothing in common with the nationalist aspirations of their peoples. U.S. insistence on a cease-fire in Laos pending a meeting between the countries involved is seen here as an effort to save Washington's puppet regime from inevitable defeat.

The Council listened to a blunt warning from Liu Ning-I, president of the All China Fedn. of Trade Unions: "China, one of the guarantors of the [1954] Geneva agreements and a close neighbor of Laos, will never allow that country to be turned into a beachhead for attacking China . . . We have always maintained that the Laotian problem should be settled by the Laotian people themselves . . . We firmly hold that an enlarged international conference should be held in accordance with the spirit and the principles of the Geneva agreement."

CHINA'S ROLE: To most Asian delegates here the explanation of the U.S. folly in Laos is found in the continued U.S. support for Chiang. If Washington failed to support Boun Oum in Laos, that would weaken other U.S. puppets in South Korea and Taiwan. This policy in Asia parallels the Dulles attempt to "liberate the satellites in Europe"; both are doomed to failure.

One thing was made absolutely clear at this conference: No settlement of such fundamental issues as disarmament can be reached until China assumes her rightful place in the UN. From the Chinese delegates' statements it is possible to record the conditions necessary for Chinese participation in disarmament and other discussions—any idea that China will simply underwrite agreements which she has not helped to negotiate, can be abandoned.

These points became very clear: (1) China will not take part in any conference organized by the UN while she is deprived of her rights in the UN; (2) whether she accepts an invitation to participate in disarmament talks outside the UN will depend on whether the Chiang clique is also invited; (3) she will not enter the UN by the back door, meaning that when the UN Assembly votes for China's admission, it must also expel Chiang's nominee; (4) the idea of "two Chinas" in the UN is completely rejected.

LAOTIANS WORK ON A U.S. ARMORED CAR IN THE JUNGLE

Despite danger spots like this, the Council saw signs of hope

FOR DISARMAMENT: The Chinese spokesmen, on the other hand, affirmed that their country stands for disarmament, prohibition of nuclear tests and of the production, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons. China advocates a nuclear-free zone in the Pacific and coexistence with all countries. The Chinese stress they have proven their intentions in the five-year-long Warsaw talks; but in the light of experience at the moment, China believes that "the U.S. imperialists will not give up easily their policy of aggression and war."

The discussions on disarmament were carried out in the light of the continuing colonial struggle, as most delegates believed danger of war sprang from attempts to maintain colonial exploitation. But there was general support for Soviet Peace Committee President Nikolai Tikhonov: "Disarmament is not only a vital necessity but also feasible . . . [It] can be solved successfully if earnest and honest talks are begun . . . and this question is presented to a broad forum of states . . ."

The Council's final declaration on disarmament urged renewed disarmament negotiations that would not exclude any country and added: "It is essential that each country participating should enter discussions with the real and publicly expressed intention of disarming."

ON ARMS CONTROL: The resolution underlined a point stressed by Prof. J. D. Bernal during the discussions: world opinion must be warned against the Kennedy Administration's apparent rejection of complete and total disarmament in favor of armaments control . . . The resolution said: "The policy of arms control is no substitute for disarmament. We reject utterly the policy of the balance of terror and the policy of the so-called 'deterrent'."

Significantly, the recent disarmament statement by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference in London was circulated as an information document to the Council, because it closely resembled past Council demands. To the delegates this was an example of the way agreement can be reached when neutrals like India and Ghana exert their influence on Western nations like Britain and Canada and when the U.S. is not present.

The message of this conference is one of hope but also of warning.

Christmas pudding in the ashes

Following are excerpts of two reviews of the same book which appeared on the same day (Feb. 26) in the book review sections of two New York newspapers. The book is A Forward Strategy for America *by Robert Strausz-Hupe, William Kintner and Stefan T. Posony (Harper & Bros., New York. 451 pp. $5.95).*

THE THREE WORRIED MEN who wrote this book are convinced of three things: that we are doing badly in the cold war; that, without overstraining ourselves, we could do much better; but that if we don't wake up to this fact swiftly, we are doomed. **A Forward Strategy for America** is an intense, thought-provoking, unevenly written, overlong but brilliant study. It is as full of ideas as a Christmas pudding is of raisins, and it is almost indigestible. I, for one, disagree with certain of its analyses and conclusions, but it is without question an impressive and constructive endeavor.

—Cyrus E. Sulzberger, chief European correspondent of the New York **Times**, in the **Times Book Review**, Feb. 26.

* * *

IF THE WORLD had ever been successful in stamping out ignorance, poverty, envy, vanity, greed and the other plagues of civilization by war, one would have more sympathy with a strategy which not only does not blink at the possibility of dropping H-bombs on the Soviet Union but in effect would harry the Communists with all possible dispatch to the point where they would have to shoot or give up. This is military-mindedness with a vengeance. It sees the enemy and demands that he be smashed. It never considers whether in fact that is the business we should be about, whether by engaging in it we might not sacrifice the values we ought to defend, or whether by accomplishing it (if we could) we should have a world out of the ashes in which freedom could live.

—Gordon Harrison, a former Army historian, author of **Cross Channel Attack**, in the New York **Herald Tribune Book Review**, Feb. 26.

ORDERED TO CLOSE

Highlander school loses appeal in state supreme court

HIGHLANDER Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn., lost another round in its battle for survival when the Tennessee Supreme Court on April 5 upheld a lower court order revoking the school's charter and ordered it to close.

The school, founded in 1932, has long been under attack because of its complete integration. Highlander has stimulated Negro voter registration by training people to teach literacy. Recently the school and Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference announced a joint training project for sit-in demonstrators.

The school and its directors, Myles Horton and Septima Clark, have also been attacked as "communist." In 1957 they were defended against this charge by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a long-time defender of the school, and by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and others.

The present case began in 1959 after a party at the school was raided by local police and three staff members were arrested on intoxication charges. The State Supreme Court ordered the school closed on the grounds that Horton had operated the school for private gain and that intoxicating beverages had been sold on the premises. The Court did not rule on another holding of the lower court that the school violated state segregation laws.

CASE OF CASTRO SUPPORTER TO BE APPEALED

Jury that convicted Molina called 'biased'

FRANCISCO MOLINA DEL RIO, 29, a pro-Castro Cuban living in New York, was convicted by a jury April 7 of second-degree murder and first- and second-degree assault arising from a political brawl in a New York restaurant last Sept. 21. He faces 20 years to life on the murder charge; up to ten years for first-degree assault; and five years for second-degree assault. Sentencing is May 26.

The brawl started when five men entered El Prado restaurant, known as a gathering place for Castro supporters, wearing buttons reading, "Khrushchev and Castro Not Wanted." In the melee a bullet passed through a man's shoulder and struck nine-year-old Magdalena Urdaneta of Venezuela. She died next day.

Police and the FBI announced they were searching for Molina, who the FBI described as head of a "Castro goon squad." Newspapers dubbed him "The Hook." Molina sometimes wears a prosthetic arm in place of his natural limb which was lost in an industrial accident in 1955. He was arrested last Oct. 14 and indicted by a grand jury five days later.

POLITICS CHARGED: Molina's lawyer, Samuel A. Neuburger, said the verdict would be appealed "all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary." He charged that the jury was "biased and prejudiced." Neuburger added: "If this man were not a pro-Castro Cuban, there is no doubt that the original charge would have been manslaughter, and it is doubtful there is enough evidence to convict him of that."

Molina's sister, Carmen, said in Spanish: "What happens to him now? Politics . . . where is the justice if politics can do this?"

The Committee for the Defense of Francisco Molina (154 Nassau St., New York City) endorsed the view that the verdict was based on political prejudice. In a statement the committee also made these points:

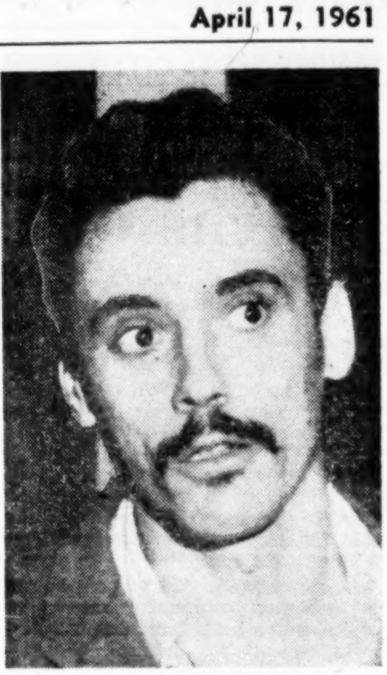
● Although it was admitted that many took part in the free-for-all, only Molina was arrested. "Not a single one of the anti-Castro participants was arrested and charged despite their own admission that they used iron chains and knives in the fight, during which two pro-Castro adherents were stabbed."

● Molina did not consult with his attorneys from the time of his arrest until his arraignment in Felony Court. Although Molina speaks little English and his attorneys speak little Spanish, the lawyers were not permitted to bring in an interpreter for 11 days.

● Prosecution witness Rosita Morales admitted that she was told not to worry about her pending sentence on a narcotic charge. Nelson Alvarez, another prosecution witness, said that he had been threatened with deportation by an Assistant District Attorney.

● An unnamed Federal agency intervened to ask the judge to prohibit questioning of prosecution witnesses on their anti-Castro activities in Miami. As a result the witnesses were allowed to refuse to answer defense questions on such activities. The Committee said that the intervening agency was the Central Intelligence Agency.

● The jury did not include persons of Latin American origin, Negroes or factory workers. In court Neuburger challenged the blue-ribbon panel on the ground that there was deliberate and systematic exclusion of all who could be considered Molina's "peers."



FRANCISCO MOLINA
A matter of politics vs. justice

The Cuban story

(Continued from Page 1)

this call is unheeded, we are confident that the Cuban people with their passion for liberty, will continue to strive for a free Cuba [and] join hands with the other republics in the hemisphere in the struggle to win freedom."

On April 8 the Cuban Revolutionary Council, a coalition of exile organizations forged under U.S. pressure, issued an "Appeal to Cubans to Revolt Against the Castro Regime." It accused Castro of betraying Cuba "by delivering her sovereignty to Soviet Russia . . by the ruin of our national economy" [and by leading] "a whole nation . . . into the depths of poverty and misery."

"TO ARMS, CUBANS!": More significantly, the Council in its call ("To arms, Cubans!") said that "the free enterprise system has been destroyed" by Castro. It "emphatically" assured that, if it came to power, it would return expropriated private property to the former owners; "encourage investment in private property, both national and foreign, and . . . give complete guarantees to private enterprise and to private property in the fullest meaning of social responsibility."

After expressions of solicitude for "the land owners [who were] made victims of wholesale confiscation," the Council said that "our tormented country is today a Soviet colony enslaved by the totalitarian nations of Europe and Asia [and] occupied by a foreign army at the service of those who betrayed the revolution." It declared "the purpose of our war is to overthrow the foreign legions from the land where Jose Marti was born and died."

THE REAL STORY: Sleek in phrase and thundering in rhetoric, both the White Paper and the Council's declaration were loaded with distortion, dishonesty, half-truth and falsehood.

The Castro revolution was not exactly "welcomed" by the whole hemisphere, and certainly not by the U.S. Nor is it the whole truth to say that the U.S. tried to reach an understanding with Castro. Washington supported Batista to the bitter end. It did recognize Castro after Batista fled, but it withheld economic cooperation waiting for signs that the Castro revolution was nothing more than the usual Latin American army coup.

When it saw no such signs, Washington turned down Castro's request for a $5,000,000 loan. Later, an economic mission from the Cuban Development Bank failed to stir any response in Washington and the Castro government suddenly found all doors to credit in Western Europe closed to it.

A HOTEL ROOM: When Castro came to the U.S. in the spring of 1959, I. F. **Stone's Weekly** notes (April 10), "he was unable to obtain an official invitation and Secretary [of State] Herter saw him in a hotel room to underscore the unofficial nature of his visit . . . Latin America's popular hero in our time was treated as a second class visitor."

Castro did not begin expropriation of large estates and foreign concerns nor did he turn to the socialist countries for assistance until the U.S. began to exert economic pressure on him and tried to turn other Latin American nations against him. The overtures made by the U.S. during this period dealt solely with demands for immediate payments of fantastically jacked-up compensation for expropriated American properties.

Castro turned to socialist methods in Cuba by sheer necessity. "Once it was certain that Cuba's socialism threatened U.S. property and political hegemony in the hemisphere," James O'Connor writes in the **Progressive** (February), "once Fidel Castro dramatized himself as the savior of the Latin American masses, the State Department . . . took the offensive."

Hoy, Havana

THOSE WHO LEFT: The list of those who fled from Cuba after Batista's fall passes no moral judgment on the Castro government, nor do the expropriation of private property and the postponement of national elections characterize it adversely. Such things have happened after all genuine revolutions, when differences arose over the structure of society the revolutionaries wished to build. During the American revolution, 100,000 Tories fled to Canada or England, in contrast to the reported 30,000 who have fled from Cuba. Estates of Tories were confiscated by the U.S. without compensation. Sidney Lens wrote in the March 1 **Fellowship:**

"Sir William Pepperell's Maine farm, which ran 30 miles along the coast, was confiscated. So were the farms of the Philipse family, the Penns and many others. All told $40,000,000 in land—an enormous sum at that time, considering there were only 3,500,000 people in the country—was seized by the Revolution."

WASHINGTON GOT IT: The American revolution lost followers even as it was being fought. Washington had a hard time preventing desertions from the revolutionary army. The colonial army of 90,000 volunteers dwindled to 30,000 by 1783. The Tory press abused Washington as the U.S. press today vilifies Castro. The first elections in the U.S. were held five years after the revolution, the first "free" elections nearly a hundred years later—and genuinely free elections are not held even today in many states of the U.S.

Lens writes that the first political parties in the U.S. arose more than a decade after the revolution, and there were rebellions against the revolution itself in Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and elsewhere. Watching all this, Europeans sagely shook their heads and predicted the American revolution "would not last."

STONE DISTORTED: The State Department White Paper is not above tawdry distortion. It quotes, for instance, "the North American journalist I. F. Stone, initially sympathetic with the Castro regime," as saying he "felt that Cuba was on its way to becoming a Soviet-style popular democracy." This implies that Stone has gone sour on the Castro regime, but, despite his criticism of some aspects of the Castro government, this is what Stone had to say March 13:

"In Cuba, it is we, not the Soviet bloc, which is choosing the path of war. It is we who are training Cubans for war against the Castro government, dropping them in the Escambray, supplying them by air, encouraging and financing the formation of a rival government, doing our best to foment civil war in Cuba and trying to line up other nations in the hemisphere for collective action against her."

Both the White Paper and the Council's declaration are far from the truth when they describe the Cubans as impoverished and call Cuba a "Soviet satellite"; and the Council engages in an outright falsehood when it refers to "foreign legions" and says Cuba is "occupied by a foreign army."

VAST IMPROVEMENT: The GUARDIAN and many other publications have detailed the miraculous improvement in the living standards of the Cubans in so short a time and against such great odds. James O'Connor wrote in the **Progressive** (January): "Cuban planners have succeeded in raising the level of investment and consumption **simultaneously.**"

After the publication of the White Paper, Castro told the Cuban people that they will not lack food, clothing, shelter, education and recreation even if they have to fight off an invasion.

Cuba today is not a "Soviet satellite"; there are no Soviet bases, despite all allegations. But the U.S. Guantanamo base is there for all to see. Castro has no "foreign legion"; but the U.S. press has carried stories of Franco Spaniards and others in the ranks of the U.S.-supported counterrevolutionary forces.

PAST OMISSIONS: The White Paper glossed over the U.S. economic warfare against Castro and the CIA efforts to overthrow the Castro government. There is exactly one sentence which says: "We acknowledge past omissions and errors in our relations to them [the Cubans]." It is implied that Castro arbitrarily chose socialism out of several alternatives of varying merit, much as a man might select an atrocious necktie.

If the whole story were told, it would be seen, ironically enough, that it was imperialistic U.S. policy that helped socialism—not "international communism"—secure "a base" in the Americas. It is the fear of the spread of socialism with the resultant loss of U.S. economic hegemony, and not a Sino-Soviet conquest of the hemisphere, that has prompted Washington's rash action.

It is deplorable but true that Washington has influenced President Kennedy's liberal advisers more than they have influenced U.S. policy toward Latin America. The lack of imagination in the Administration is displayed in its most absurd degree by a press report which says that because Kennedy was much impressed by a book on guerrilla warfare by Cuba's chief of industrialization, "Che" Guevara, the U.S. army is expanding its guerrilla warfare training of both U.S. soldiers and Latin Americans. This is being done, it is said, to meet the rise of future Castros in the hemisphere.

THE ESSENCE: But the U.S. army has missed the essence of guerrilla fighting: unflinching peasant support for the guerrilla fighters because of the program for which the guerrillas are fighting.

As **Stone's Weekly** said (March 13):

"Guerrillas who offer peasants aid against a hated landlord or village usurer are one thing. But can you see a U.S. guerrilla knocking on a peasant's door late at night, 'Give me water; hide me; I bring a message from United Fruit Company; we have come back to take your land'? The guerrilla's strength is his revolutionary political program. Without it, he is only another version of the World War II commando, able to kill sentries and blow up bridges, but not to mobilize masses."

BOOKS

Peace--or the final folly

DEATH always comes to individuals. It has sometimes come to nations. But never before has the whole of mankind stood in real peril of extinction. This is a situation without precedent and it is forcing us to a conclusion without precedent—that in the nuclear age peace is the categorical imperative.

As our concern for survival grows, so does the stream of books and broadcasts devoted to the problem of world peace. True, stratagems to allay concern still outnumber strategies to assure the peace. Only yesterday Harvard's Henry Kissinger and Edward Teller sought to comfort us with talk of "clean" bombs and "limited" nuclear warfare. Today new—and more desperate—substitutes are being pressed upon our new Administration.

It is significant, however, that these new offerings meet instant challenge. When Kissinger combines his limited-war notion with the proposal that the world rely for peace upon "stabilized" deterrents, that is, nuclear weapons systems which are mutually invulnerable to attack, he is promptly rebuffed by Walter Millis (New York **Times Book Review**, Jan. 15), who shows the 1961 Kissinger is no safer than the 1958 model.

Herman Kahn of the Rand Corp. proposes that we (or from one-half to two-thirds of us) learn to live with, and after, thermonuclear war; but James Newman, an editor of **Scientific American**, forthrightly brands Kahn's **On Thermonuclear War** "a moral tract on mass murder: how to plan it, how to commit it, how to get away with it, how to justify it" (March).

AND WHAT of strategies for peace? The first fruit of the new year is an eloquent book* by Norman Cousins, editor of the **Saturday Review** and co-chairman of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. It is not just a study, but a plea as well. And while many will question his particular road to peace, few will be unmoved by the author's intense commitment to action for peace.

The theme is set by Bertrand Russell's one-sentence history of mankind: "Ever since Adam and Eve ate the first apple, man has never refrained from any folly of which he was capable. The End." It is this challenge that Cousins takes up, convinced that we can avert the ultimate folly.

His first three chapters describe the awesome rise in nuclear destructive power (a rise so rapid that no shelter program could possibly keep pace with it); the nuclear missile race; and the final madness, CBR—chemical, biological and radiological warfare. His account is terse, documented, effective.

But "bemoaning a nuclear war is not a policy in itself." Cousins then considers the policy urged by "the military." This, he finds, rests on a false dichotomy—"either nuclear war or slavery"—and a false hope, deterrence. His criticisms are sound. They are developed, however, in an abstract context which places the onus on unlimited national sovereignty, not on the men who implement it; the military are only doing their duty. And while he acknowledges that the Pentagon and the Atomic Energy Commission bitterly oppose every step to peace, he declines to take specific issue with them, preferring to keep the discussion on a general plane. (This seems to be of a piece with his inability to find any McCarthyism in the behavior of Senator Dodd).

THE REMAINDER of the book is given over to the argument for Cousin's own alternative. Briefly, "world problems will be settled by a real world organization, meaning world law, or they will be settled by world war." For since security cannot lie in arms, it must be sought in disarmament; and this is impossible unless, through the UN, we create a world federation. National sovereignty must be curtailed by endowing the UN with new powers, as proposed by Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn in their book **World Peace Through World Law.**

Since that plan cannot be reviewed here in detail, it would be unfair to make other than very general comments. With the goal there can be no quarrel. Any objective less "utopian" than a world without war would altogether fail to meet today's need.

The trouble is that Cousins fails to show a path that leads to that goal from where we are now. As a result, he too ends up with an unreal dichotomy—either world organization or world war—a dichotomy which calls to mind the equally unreal "either world socialism or world war." Unfortunately, our problem today is not how to prevent war in a future world of socialist states or of limited sovereignty states, but how to do so in the present world of socialist and non-socialist states.

Photo by Sheldon Bieber

NEW YORK PEACE MARCHERS ON THEIR WAY TO UN

"In the nuclear age peace is the categorical imperative"

NOT THAT COUSINS is unaware of the problem. Directly after giving the Clark-Sohn plan, he begins a chapter on the Soviet Union thus:

"Like the chant of a Greek chorus rising to a crescendo, one question repeats itself at every point along the way in the development of the argument for the control over power in the modern world. What about Russia? . . . How do we get the Soviet to agree to the conversion of the United Nations into a world authority with adequate powers . . .?"

Cousins argues (1) that while the Soviet state, like other states, will be loath to cede some of its sovereignty, world opinion can help persuade it to do so in the interests of peace; (2) that Soviet ideology is now so flexible that it does not constitute an insuperable barrier.

Elsewhere, however, he still refers to "an atomic-muscled totalitarian power with a world ideology." And his book generally tends to assume the usual "free-world versus totalitarianism" premise.

Thus, if we take his discussion as a whole, his answer seems to point in two opposite directions. This ambivalent attitude towards the Soviet Union is by no means peculiar to Cousins; it is pretty general among peace spokesmen in America. Some of its implications, however, are not always realized.

CONSIDER, for example, the current effort in this country, so well described by Professor Seymour Melman of Columbia University (**The Nation**, Feb. 11), to shift discussion from disarmament to arms control. Obviously the two policies are not the same. Arms control accepts the arms race but tries to diminish the risks that lead to atomic war. Disarmament would end the arms race, and this in fact is the Soviet proposal.

Now if Cousins regards the Soviet Union as a totalitarian aggressor bent on military domination of the world, his conclusion must be that disarmament is out, the arms race is here to stay, and the best we can hope for is arms control. But he himself has shown that a controlled arms race is a delusion! Surely the time has come for him—and the others—to re-examine the premise that leads to such an impasse.

This is not to suggest that Cousins withhold his criticism of past and present Soviet policies. It is simply to urge that in assessing the role of the Soviet Union he rely not on cold war shibboleths but on the record at home and in New York, in Geneva and in the Congo—in short, that he apply to Soviet conduct the same responsible standards of independent criticism which Ghana's Nkrumah and India's Nehru employ.

POSTCRIPT: Since the above was written, a full-page Freedom House advertisement appeared in the New York **Times** of March 5. Harking back to the founding of Freedom House in World War II, the statement says near the end: "Nazi totalitarianism was then the chief enemy. Today, Communist totalitarianism is the chief enemy: more potently armed than Nazism ever was for a war against the minds of men and against all free institutions everywhere on earth."

Among the signers is Norman Cousins.

—Albert Blumberg

IN PLACE OF FOLLY, by Norman Cousins. Harper and Bros. 224 pp. $3.

NEW YORK

"Never to Forget — Never to Forgive"

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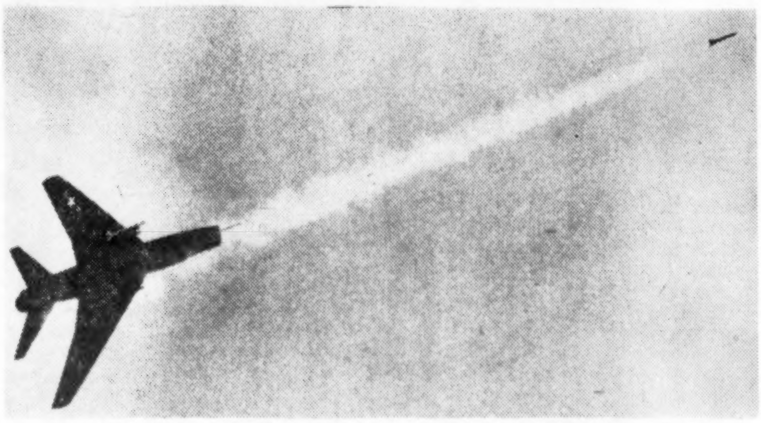

AN F-100 SUPER SABER JET IN A SIDEWINDER MISSILE FIRING TEST
What happens if a "foolproof" control system fails on a plane overseas?

CAN A MALFUNCTION TRIGGER WAR?

Accidental downing of B-52 sets off concern over safety systems

THOSE CONCERNED that a nuclear war could be triggered by accident looked toward a report by an Air Force inquiry board on the vulnerability of control systems which are supposed to make it impossible for a missile to be fired from a plane accidentally.

The board began private hearings April 8 after a Sidewinder missile on an F-100 fighter plane accidentally knocked down a B-52 bomber April 7 during a training exercise over New Mexico. Three of the bomber's crew were killed.

In the mock intercept mission, the fighter pilot made one pass to simulate firing the missile. Then he made four more passes as though he were firing his 20mm. cannon. On the sixth pass "something happened" and the missile sped toward the B-52.

MALFUNCTION BLAMED: A second and a half later the Sidewinder, which flies at twice the speed of sound, struck the bomber's left wing. Fire broke out and the plane plunged down. Five of the crew parachuted to safety.

Lt. James W. Van Syoc, pilot of the F-100, was not permitted to comment publicly at first. Later at a news conference he blamed the accidental firing on a malfunction. He said that he had gone through safety checks twice to make sure the missile could not be launched accidentally.

The Sidewinder is a non-nuclear missile which steers itself toward a target by infrared radiation of the aircraft's engine. It was used by Chinese Nationalist planes against People's Republic of China jets two years ago. The "foolproof" control system consists of a series of procedures between the missile-carrying plane and a ground control station.

WAVE OF CONCERN: After the accident the Air Force suspended all training intercept missions. It also declared that these missions had never been flown with nuclear weapons.

The Air Force also ordered that no intercept missions be flown against aircraft of the Strategic Air Command. SAC bombers carry nuclear weapons.

Despite the Air Force assurances, the New York **Post** reported "a nation-wide wave of concern over the safety systems of missile- and nuclear-armed Air Force planes." Some were particularly concerned over the safety systems on planes flying outside the U.S. An accident against a U.S. plane could mean great personal tragedy, but a malfunction against foreign aircraft could lead to war.

800 at ECLC panel discussions

A CENTER to coordinate activities and exchange information on civil liberties on college campuses will be established next fall under the sponsorship of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The decision came at the student panel at an ECLC workshop conference on various aspects of civil liberties April 9 in New York.

The student center will also publish a newsletter. The first issue will be devoted to a bibliography of civil liberties materials. A planning conference is scheduled for June 19 to 26 at World Fellowship in Conway, N.H.

More than 800 persons attended the ECLC conference. There were five simultaneous panels. Discussion leaders included Dr. Willard Uphaus, former Rep. William H. Meyer, Prof. H. H. Wilson, Carl Braden, Judge Hubert T. Delany, Leonard Boudin, Rev. Arthur Walmsley, David Wesley, Prof. David Haber and Murray Gordon.

A plenary session heard reports from the panels and saw **Operation Abolition**, the House Un-American Activities Committee's doctored version of the demonstrations against its hearings in San Francisco last May.

BIRCH PROBE OPPOSED: The ECLC national council at its annual meeting April 8 opposed "any government investigation of the John Birch Society or of the political views of any organization in the United States."

The council expressed alarm at the spread of anti-civil liberties activities in the country and blamed it on "the illegal inquisitorial operations of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee and some other agencies of government." It noted that "those operations have been supported and promoted by the John Birch Society," but declared ECLC "unalterably opposed to any restrictions on the right of free expression in the United States."

The council also called for the abolition of HUAC and "the cessation of inquisitions into private political beliefs and associations by any agency of government."

The council is composed of 87 members from 18 states, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia. Harvey O'Connor is chairman.

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Editor, *The Guardian*
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OAKLEY JOHNSON: The Story of an American Woman
PATRICIA LEONARD: Two Weeks with Pay (short story)
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Don. $1. — Ausp: Chicago Council American-Soviet Friendship.

Hear "**WORKER**" Editor-in-chief, James E. Jackson, "**MEANING FOR AMERICA OF DRAMATIC EVENTS IN AFRICA**"
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Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

MINNEAPOLIS

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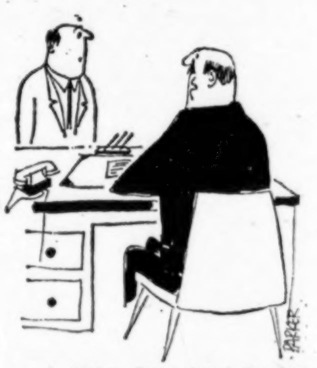
THE GALLERY

WHAT SHOULD BE THE FINAL WORD on this year's movie Oscars came to the entertainment editor of the Los Angeles **Mirror** from a reader. Mrs. J. Thrasp wrote: "Anyone who votes against **The Alamo** and John Wayne is a Red and a Communist." It is rumored that a subversive slogan swept Hollywood during the Oscar balloting: "Forget the Alamo." . . . Plastic surgeon Dr. Oscar J. Becker of Chicago reported a rage for Jacqueline Kennedy noses. . . . The Pentagon last month awarded a $4,500,000 contract for the construction of "additional facilities of a classified nature" at its underground hideaway in Raven Rock Mountain . . . A recent letter to Dr. Theodore R. Van Dellen in the New York **Daily News** read: "I get home from work at 10 p.m. and look at TV until midnight. During this time I eat one dozen oranges. Will this hurt my teeth or any other part of my body?" The doctor answered: "No, but brush your teeth before you go to bed. . . ."

POLICE RADIO DISPATCHERS in Batavia, N.Y., have become extra careful about their language. They learned recently that for some unexplained reason the public address amplifier at the First Methodist Church picks up police calls when squad cars are nearby . . . Thorndyke, a 14-month-old German shepherd, flunked out of the Chicago police department's Canine Corps. He made friends with the prisoners and growled at the guards. . . . Kevin Griffin returned to Canada last month after a short hitch as an anti-Castro guerrilla in Cuba's Escambray mountains. He said: "I signed on for the money—$800 a month. Then I found out they wouldn't pay anything until they'd turned Castro out. I didn't feel like waiting." . . . H. R. Allen Co. of Lakewood, Ohio, is offering "atomic irradiated seeds" at $1.75 a packet. It lures gardeners thus: "Try to create new flowers and vegetables. Watch the unusual effects of radiation on plants." For the wary it assures: "Seeds are not radioactive but merely 'bruised' to try to produce mutations." The company says that last year atomic seeds produced "sausage-shaped tomatoes yielding 15 slices per tomato."



Parker, International Teamster

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PAUL GETTY, sometimes described as the richest man in the world, installed a pay telephone in his English mansion in Sutton Place, south of London. He is reported to have paid $2,800,000 for the estate.

Getty explained: "People are funny about telephones. They'll come as guests and make long distance telephone calls all over the world. When you speak to them about it, they look surprised and say: 'I spoke 30 minutes? Why, it's impossible. It couldn't have been more than three minutes.'"

Guests were not Getty's only problem. "I've got some splendid servants now," he said. "But in the past, well, er, some of them were calling up relatives in Scotland and talking and talking. That all went on my bill.

"And then there's the question of workmen. We have a lot of them at Sutton Place. They're aways calling relatives and friends in London."

A call to London, he said, costs "one and three" (one shilling and three pence—18 cents). "When you get some fellow talking for ten or 15 minutes, well, it all adds up."

Getty said that William Randolph Hearst didn't like guests using his telephone without permission. He said that if you used Hearst's phone and he found out, "when you got back to your room, your bags were packed. You were out."

Getty said he wouldn't go as far as Hearst. "The coin box should take care of things."

—Robert E. Light

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VRS — 6018 — BRAHMS VIOLIN CONCERTO in D, Op. 77 with D. Oistrakh, USSR Sym. Orch., Kondrashin cond.

VRS — 6019 — FRANCK SONATA IN A, VIOLIN & PIANO, D. Oistrakh, violin, Oborin, piano (with Prokofiev: Sonata No. 1 in F minor).

VRS—6024—BEETHOVEN, SONATA FOR VIOLIN & PIANO IN A, op. 47, **"KREUTZER"**; D. Oistrakh, violin; L. Oborin, piano (with Sonatas of Leclair & Ysaye).

VRS — 6027 — DVORAK VIOLIN CONCERTO, op. 53; D. Oistrakh, USSR Sym. Orch., Kondrashin cond. (with Glazounov, Violin Concerto).

VRS — 6028—SCHUMANN CONCERTO IN A MINOR, CELLO & ORCH.; Shafran, cello; USSR Sym. Orch., Kondrashin cond. (with works of Falla, Haydn).

VRS—9002—KURT WEILL—THE THREE PENNY OPERA; Vienna State Opera Orch. & Chorus, Adler cond. (IN GERMAN).

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the SPECTATOR

Siqueiros indomitable

The director of the huge Federal penitentiary in Mexico City is a regular army general named Carlos Martin del Campo. On a wall in his office is a black and white lithograph warmly inscribed by one of his 2,700 charges, the great muralist and painter David Alfaro Siqueiros, who was imprisoned for some remarks he made about Mexico's President Lopez Mateos in Venezuela. He has been behind bars, without trial, for seven months.

On April 1, Joseph Laitin, a special correspondent of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, *asked for and received permission to interview Siqueiros and to record the exchange on tape. Following are excerpts of the interview which appeared in the* Post-Dispatch *April 2:*

Q. I am sorry this is taking place under these circumstances.

A. Well, I am much more sorry than yourself.

Q. Are you doing any painting here in prison?

A. Yes, I painted the scenery for a prison play some weeks ago.

Q. Are you doing any of your own painting?

A. Yes, some small canvases.

Q. Do you find you have more time to paint when you're in jail?

A. Well, I have more time, the fact that I am in jail, yes, but you know I am a muralist.

Q. Yes, but there are plenty of big, blank walls here in prison . . .

A. (Laughing) Yes, but not to be painted with murals . . .

Q. The general tells me you're planning to do a mural for the prison . . .

A. Yes, if I stay in jail long enough . . . a mural in relation to the recent nationalization of the electric industry.

Q. Are you being given good treatment in prison?

A. Well, the only bad thing about this place is that it is a jail. Jails are never good, but this jail is very humanistic. The general has made very good reforms here.

Q. Excluding yourself, who would you name as the five greatest living artists in the world?

A. It is difficult to say something so specific and concrete, you know, because I might do someone an injustice. (Here, Siqueiros went into a long discussion of Mexican artists.)

Q. You haven't mentioned any artists in the United States . . .

A. Well, Jack Levine is a very good artist. Anton Refregier is a very good artist. Ben Shahn. Also a very good artist. And Jackson Pollock. He became an abstractionist. I am sorry also of that.

Q. You don't like abstract painting?

A. I like the road that I follow myself, you know. That is, modern realism. And a social realism at the same time. But that doesn't mean I don't understand abstract painting. If a man is a great artist, he is still a great artist in the role of abstractionist.

Q. Why is it there apparently are no great artists in the Soviet Union?

A. Didn't you read my open letter some time ago to the Soviet artists? It was a criticism against the art in the Soviet Union. I think they have not a very clear policy in what concerns realism. They're academics. But I think they are coming back very well now. There is a group of very young artists now and they are working in the direction of our art movement in Mexico.

Q. Why is it that in Mexico, artists always seem to get involved in politics?

A. Our movement in Mexico started in the political life of the country, you know. For that reason, our movement in painting is so humanistic and I can say honestly, it is profound, very deep. An artist in Mexico is a real leader in the labor movement.

Q. You've never had a president . . .

A. Not yet, but a governor, yes. Our art movement in Mexico is not superficial, no simple pleasure for a small group of rich owners, but something that is useful for our country because we are painters and at the same time citizens. I think the most important thing of the Mexican art movement is that we are involved in politics.

Q. You feel it makes you a better artist . . .

A. Absolutely, because it gives to our paintings a sense, a historical reason, a function.

Q. Being a politician makes you a better artist . . . does being an artist make you a better politician?

A. Yes, sure, because we need to be honest in both things. It is difficult for an artist not to be honest, you know. He makes no compromises with anybody. Why should artists be out of the political life of their country? What difference is there between him and any other man . . . a mechanic or laborer, or a scientist?

Q. I hope I am not taking you away from anything important.

A. As a matter of fact, you are . . . a little bit important, because today is the day I can be with my wife alone, the one day of the week.

Q. I forgot that in this penitentiary, a prisoner is permitted a connubial visit with his wife.

A. Yes, it is a very important thing in Mexican jails. It is very civilized and very human in our country.

Q. Your wife brings in your meals every day, and she is permitted a wifely visit once a week. Then what is it you can't do here that you would do on the outside?

A. (Smiling broadly). It is a lovely day today. I would like to take a stroll in Chapultepec Park. And tonight, I would like to take my wife to see a movie at a downtown theater. But the general, he won't let me go. If you write a story about this visit, will you mail me a copy of it?

Q. Yes, certainly. Will this be your permanent address?

Siqueiros stood up, looked at the guards and the general, gave me a broad wink, and said in a booming voice:

"This my permanent address? Not at all, not at all. Only a few weeks more." With that he strode out of the guardhouse, his two guards trotting to keep up with him.